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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
TWO HUNDRED AND FORTY-FIRST MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 18 June 1993, at 3.40 p.m.

President:	Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO	(Spain)
Members:	Brazil	Mr. de ARAUJO CASTRO
	Cape Verde	Mr. BARBOSA
	China	Mr. CHEN Jian
	Djibouti	Mr. OLHAYE
	France	Mr. MERIMEE
	Hungary	Mr. ERDOS
	Japan	Mr. SHIGEIE
	Morocco	Mr. BENJELLOUN-TOUIMI
	New Zealand	Mr. O'BRIEN
	Pakistan	Mr. MARKER
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mrs. ALBRIGHT
	Venezuela	Mr. ARRIA

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The meeting was called to order at 3.40 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL PURSUANT TO SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 836 (1993) (S/25939 and Corr.1 and Add.1)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Misić (Bosnia and Herzegovina) took a place at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General pursuant to Security Council resolution 836 (1993), document S/25939 and Corr.1 and Add.1.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/25966, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by France, the Russian Federation, Spain, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America.

(The President)

I should like to draw the attention of the Council to the following documents: S/25908, S/25909, S/25933, S/25943 and S/25959, letters dated 5, 6, 11, 13 and 16 June 1993 from the Permanent Representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put draft resolution S/25966 to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Brazil, Cape Verde, China, Djibouti, France, Hungary, Japan, Morocco, New Zealand, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 844 (1993).

I shall call now on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. ERDÖS (Hungary) (interpretation from French): The Hungarian delegation's vote in favour of resolution 844 (1993) reflects our conviction that the intention of resolution 836 (1993) to establish safe areas in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina must be implemented as quickly as possible.

For us, the only remaining question related to the specific modalities proposed to do this. We must say that the modalities outlined in the present resolution are not entirely what we had hoped for. They are acceptable

(Mr. Erdös, Hungary)

only to the extent that we had to face the fact that under the present circumstances the international community is neither in a position, nor is it inclined, to do more. Unfortunately, the consultations that preceded the adoption of the resolution and the documents on which our decisions were based convinced us that there is simply no real prospect of taking larger-scale, more effective and less contradictory measures.

The present resolution has not rid us of the feeling we have had for some time: that the inherent characteristics of the structures we are building in Bosnia and Herzegovina could in the circumstances prevailing in and around the safe areas call into question the validity and operational aspects of those structures. We might wonder whether the kinds of deterrence decided upon by the Council will in fact be adequate to prevent the aggressor from pursuing his attempts to eliminate or "neutralize" the safe areas. Passive and minimally credible deterrent structures can easily become impotent, with a loss of the capacity to act. It is cold comfort that this is not the first time this has happened to us in the former Yugoslavia.

Hence, we can only hope that with the adoption of resolution 844 (1993) we will achieve at least one of our objectives: urgently to protect the people living in the safe areas and to halt the grave, systematic violations of international humanitarian law. That would be consonant with the recent appeal to the Security Council by the World Conference on Human Rights to take the measures necessary to put an end to the genocide taking place in Bosnia and Herzegovina - in particular, in Gorazde.

We hope that the measures proposed in the report of the Secretary-General, which the Security Council has just approved through the

(Mr. Erdös, Hungary)

present resolution, will be taken as soon as possible and in such a way as to make possible progress towards a fair overall settlement of the Bosnian crisis, thus preventing fossilization of the structures we have planned.

Mr. WALKER (United States of America): My Government is pleased that the Security Council has adopted this resolution implementing the Secretary-General's report on safe areas in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. We joined in sponsoring the resolution because we saw it as a means to save lives in that tormented Republic and to facilitate meeting the humanitarian needs of the Bosnian people.

This is another step forward in the international community's efforts to achieve a lasting and equitable settlement of this terrible conflict. The current resolution is obviously not the end of the process. As we meet, there indeed are hopeful signs that a political settlement may once again be within reach.

Once again, I note that the United States voted in favour of this resolution as an intermediate step that does not foreclose options involving tougher measures.

I reiterate that we expect the full cooperation of the Bosnian Serb party in implementing this resolution. If that cooperation is not forthcoming, we will move to seek further action in the Security Council. The violence must stop. This resolution can be a decisive step in that direction.

Mr. MERIMEE (France) (interpretation from French): Two weeks ago the Council with near unanimity adopted resolution 836 (1993) on safe areas in

(Mr. Mérimée, France)

Bosnia and Herzegovina. We thought it essential that today the Council should show its determination to continue on the path on which it set out with the adoption of that resolution.

The new resolution we have just adopted approves the report of the Secretary-General and decides to authorize the reinforcement of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) to meet the additional requirements mentioned in paragraph 6 of the report as an initial report.

This deployment is what we might call the "light" option - the only realistic option at present given the means that can be made available to UNPROFOR in the short term. We think that those means, coupled with the threat of air strikes, can deter attacks against the safe areas, in conformity with resolution 836 (1993).

Clearly, speedy implementation of that resolution depends on Member States. That is why the new resolution calls upon Member States to contribute forces, including logistic support and equipment. In that connection, we hail the generous offer of the Government of Pakistan and that of the Government of Bangladesh. We hope other States will follow their example. We are certain that the expressions of solidarity with Bosnia and Herzegovina by so many delegations will be concretely in the provision of the means that UNPROFOR requires.

Mr. VORONTSOV (Russian Federation)(interpretation from Russian): The Russian Federation was a co-sponsor of the important resolution just adopted by the Security Council, which envisages specific measures to provide for the security of the safe areas in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. We are grateful to the Secretary-General for his report in document S/25939, which was prepared pursuant to Security Council resolution 836 (1993). We believe that the recommendations in that report are an excellent basis for the initiation of the implementation of the Council's decision to establish safe areas in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Thus, a specific, concrete step is being taken to implement that decision, whose purpose is to put an end to bloodshed, to allay the suffering of the civilian population and to stabilize the situation. The idea of safe areas is an important element in the programme adopted in Washington on 22 May this year by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Spain, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom, the United States and France - a programme of joint actions aimed at exploring ways and means of extinguishing the Bosnian conflagration and establishing a stable and lasting political settlement.

We share the Secretary-General's view that the implementation of the decision to set up safe areas must be predicated upon the consent and cooperation of all the Bosnian parties. We call upon them to become aware of the full gravity of the situation and to embark on the course of cooperation with the United Nations Protection Force in the process of implementing the Security Council's resolutions on safe areas. These parties must clearly realize that if they refuse such coopoeration this will involve the adoption of new, tougher measures, none of which is either predetermined or ruled out.

Mr. McKINNON (New Zealand): We may be on the verge of change in the overall political context in Bosnia, but New Zealand supports the resolution just adopted because we wish to see Security Council resolution 836 (1993) implemented as effectively and quickly as possible. The present resolution constitutes a valuable initial step towards that goal. Its implementation depends, of course, on sufficient forces and material being made available.

We thank those Member States that have indicated that they will be able to contribute personnel to the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) for the purposes of this extended mandate. We also welcome the offer made by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to provide air power in and around the safe areas in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in support of UNPROFOR. The provision for air power to be deployed in this way and for this purpose is a key element in resolution 836 (1993).

At long last, United Nations military observers have been permitted to enter Gorazde, one of the six safe areas designated in resolution 836 (1993). What they have found there confirms our worst fears about what happened in Gorazde in the weeks before the observers were admitted. It is good that the military observers are now in Gorazde, but it is not enough. All parties must respect the safe areas, must comply fully with resolution 836 (1993) and must commit themselves to a negotiated settlement of the conflict which rages in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Latest reports available to Council members seem to indicate an increase in the level of incidents against United Nations personnel. We sympathize with those nations that have lost soldiers in these incidents. These events make it all the more imperative to implement speedily today's resolution and resolution 836 (1993).

Sir David HANNAY (United Kingdom): My Government welcomes the speedy adoption of this resolution endorsing the Secretary-General's report. We particularly welcome the fact that the Security Council has achieved its unity in this matter and is going forward by unanimity.

My Government believes that it was necesesary to follow up as quickly as possible the immediate steps that were identified in the joint action programme agreed in Washington some three weeks ago - steps of which this was perhaps the most significant.

Of course, as others have said, the safe-areas policy and this reinforcement of it is not in itself a solution to the problems of Bosnia and Herzegovina. But it is, in our view, a step in the right direction, designed to make the safe areas safer and to assist the major humanitarian effort in which my country, along with France, Spain, Canada and others, have been involved for eight months now and in the course of which many innocent lives have been saved.

We hope very much that there will be a good and rapid response to the request the Secretary-General is now making for troops and equipment. We very much welcome the fact that some countries have already come forward to the Secretary-General and made offers in both these fields.

Of course, the safe-areas policy must be set in a wider context, and that wider context must be the continued search for a lasting and equitable political settlement - a search on which there must be no let-up.

Mr. de ARAUJO CASTRO (Brazil): On the occasion of the adoption by the Security Council of resolution 836 (1993) two weeks ago, my delegation noted that in due course that resolution should be complemented by appropriate additional measures. We also stated that the decision taken then by the Security Council should have a two-fold objective, the fulfilment of which

(Mr. de Araujo Castro, Brazil)

would serve as the yardstick against which the effectiveness of that resolution would be measured: immediately, or in the very short run, to preserve the safety of and ensure minimum living conditions for the populations in the safe areas; and at a later stage, to be reached as quickly as possible, to restore full normalcy to life in those areas.

It may be too early to try to assess objectively the practical effects of resolution 836 (1993), or even of the last half dozen resolutions out of a total of almost 40 adopted by the Security Council on matters related to the former Yugolavia. However, one cannot fail to note a dramatic acceleration of the process of deterioration that has characterized the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina for the last few months. It is thus understandable that many may feel disappointed and frustrated by the way the international community has been handling the Bosnian conflict. The Security Council must acknowledge its share of responsibility in this regard.

The Council has recently adopted resolutions on the establishment of an international tribunal, on the possible deployment of monitors along the Bosnian borders, and on the expansion of the concept of safe areas. So far, those decisions have had scant, if any, positive bearing on the actual situation on the ground.

In his latest report on this issue, which is both realistic and subdued, the Secretary-General makes it clear that the effective implementation of the provisions of the resolution just adopted, which will depend upon the consent and cooperation of the parties - an element that remains less than certain - will not increase the current levels of protection provided to humanitarian convoys of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), currently exposed to continuous harassment by all parties; nor will

(Mr. de Araujo Castro, Brazil)

it guarantee the defence of the safe areas, which should be its immediate goal.

The action taken today by the Security Council in adopting resolution 844 (1993) has none the less the merit of giving a more practical dimension to the serious measures envisaged in resolution 836 (1993) and, as such, deserves the support of my delegation. It should be seen, once again, as an additional step in the so-far-elusive process of searching for a lasting peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

We particularly value the reference in the resolution to the overwhelming importance of seeking a comprehensive political solution to the conflict in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This reference, which echoes the opinion expressed by the Secretary-General in his report, reminds us that the ultimate objective of the Security Council remains the attainment of a truly sustainable settlement of that conflict.

(Mr. de Araujo Castro, Brazil)

The achievements of the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the former Yugoslavia continue to provide an appropriate framework for the pursuit of a lasting solution to the Bosnian problem. Brazil is convinced that, in order to be effective, any such solution must necessarily take into account the legitimate interests of all the peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina and ensure protection for the rights of minorities.

For too long the world community has been witnessing the perpetration of heinous crimes and gross violations of international humanitarian law in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Let us hope that the decision taken today by the Security Council will prove to be more than just one additional link in a very long chain of measures and may effectively contribute to stopping the killing and bringing about a sound resolution to the Bosnian conflict.

Mr. SHIGEIE (Japan): My delegation continues to be gravely concerned over the continuing and intolerable situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The unceasing military attacks and hostilities are further worsening the plight of the civilian population, as seen in Srebrenica and, more recently, in Gorazde.

Previously this Council unanimously adopted a resolution "to ensure full respect for the safe areas" (resolution 836 (1993), para. 4) and "extend... the mandate of UNPROFOR" (ibid., para. 5) to protect those areas. The proposals made by the Secretary-General to implement that resolution are very realistic and necessary, given the grave situation prevailing and the available resources. We hope that the deployment of forces will be carried out as rapidly as possible.

While we work on the humanitarian situation, it remains all the more important to strive to find a comprehensive political resolution. That

(Mr. Shigeie, Japan)

comprehensive resolution must be found through talks and negotiations. In that connection, my Government is following closely and with much interest the talks begun recently in Geneva among the parties concerned and with the Co-Chairmen of the International Conference.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of Spain.

We welcome the unanimous adoption of resolution 844 (1993), of which Spain was a sponsor. The report of the Secretary-General responds to the request contained in resolution 836 (1993), and its adoption by the Council is the essential step for the practical application of whatever is needed to implement that resolution.

The continuing deterioration of the situation on the ground, which the Government of Spain follows with great concern, makes increasingly relevant and acute the need for the safe areas and their civilian population to have adequate protection, which certainly requires the cooperation of the parties; but it also requires the strengthening of UNPROFOR along with other support measures, including air cover.

We therefore hope for favourable responses to the requests of the Secretary-General for the provision of additional contingents of troops and the necessary equipment and logistical support. We particularly welcome the fact that several countries have already indicated their willingness in that regard. Spain, for its part, will continue to contribute to UNPROFOR efforts by means of the contingent it has already deployed in Bosnia and Herzegovina, whose troops are being duly reinforced and which operates along the Metkovic-Mostar-Sarajevo route, identified in the Secretary-General's report as vital to the maintenance of the United Nations efforts in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and particularly now for the protection of the safe areas.

(The President)

We understand that strengthening UNPROFOR, as now authorized, is an initial measure which, we hope, will be adequate, but which does not exclude further strengthening, if that should be necessary, in order to achieve the objectives set out in resolution 836 (1993).

None of this should exempt us - rather the contrary - from the search for a comprehensive, equitable and lasting solution to the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina and, in general, to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia, a solution which is at this time more urgent than ever.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

There are no further speakers on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 4.05 p.m.